15¢ JULY 18, 1949

New Republic

AMERICA AND BRITAIN'S CRISIS

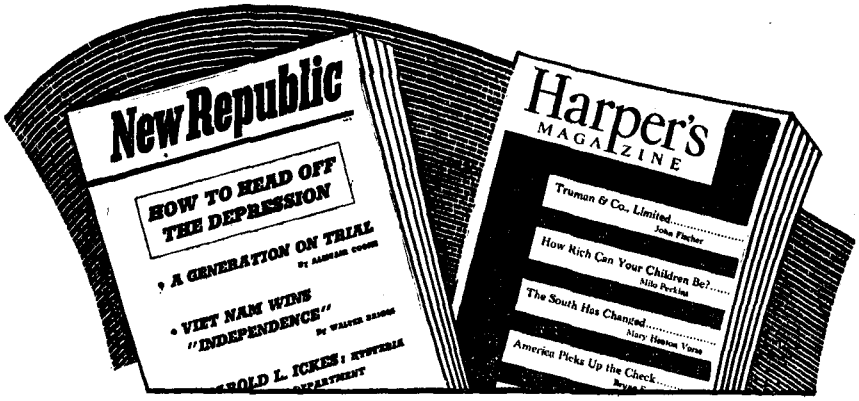
By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

- FEDERAL AID TO OUR SCHOOLS
- REUTHER IN THE SADDLE

By GERRY WEEKS

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:
TAFT MINUS HARTLEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Yes Sir! BOTH for $8.50

Two distinguished magazines, a weekly and a monthly, for little more than the price of one!

The *New Republic*, each week, appeals to citizens eager to keep abreast of significant news from the liberal point of view, to learn what's behind it, and what the future holds—social, economic, political. Independent, courageous, engagingly written by the foremost liberal journalists and thinkers. Regularly, $6.

Harper's Magazine is a general monthly famous for authoritative analysis and interpretation of contemporary affairs —political, social, and cultural—with first-rate fiction, verse and criticism. Regularly, $5.

Now you may subscribe to both at the low rate of only $8.50, provided they are ordered at the same time and payment is sent with your order. Subscriptions may be new or renewal and may be mailed to separate addresses. Foreign postage $2.50 extra, Canadian postage, $1.

ORDER TODAY---while this low combination rate is in effect! We cannot guarantee this price for longer than 30 days.

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter this magazine order:

One year of the *New Republic* and *Harper's Magazine* for $8.50 (regularly $11), for which I enclose payment. (Foreign and Canadian Postage Extra.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

7/18/49

*"a swell job"**

HOW STRONG IS SOVIET RUSSIA?

Recently a group of journalists, philosophers, scholars, and expert observers met privately to discuss the USSR.

What they talked about was reported in some detail in a 32-page supplement mailed as part of the *New Republic*. Now that supplement has been reprinted for widespread distribution—and is selling very fast, indeed.

Among the questions these experts asked each other was—how far has economic recovery progressed in Russia? What has happened to living standards? Has a class system developed? How about the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party? What is the ideological meaning of the attack on the West? Is the USSR likely to precipitate war?

Referring to the supplement, the New York *Post-Home News* wrote, "an impressive number of American authorities on the Soviet participated." To be sure! Included are Joseph Barnes, Abram Bergson, Cyril Black, Lewis Feuer, George Fischer, Louis Fischer, Andrew Gyorgy, John Hazard, Maurice Hindus, Alex Inkeles, Joseph P. Lash, Richard E. Lauterbach, Robert Magidoff, Harry Schwartz, Solomon M. Schwarz, E. J. Simmons, Michael Straight, Bertram D. Wolfe.

In the interest of *understanding*, spread the word! Place these reprints in the hands of your friends, educators, classrooms, libraries, unions, discussion groups, committees, clubs, political-action groups.

LOW PRICES

1 to 9 copies	@	10¢
10 to 99 copies	@	7¢
100-499 copies	@	6¢
500 or more copies	@	5¢

No charge for delivery in U. S. A.

Order your copies at once— before the first edition sells out. Mail your order today!

*Rodney Gilbert in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N.Y.

For the $_____ enclosed, please send me _____ reprints of HOW STRONG IS SOVIET RUSSIA? (No charge orders.)

Name_____

Address_____

7/18/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

CONTENTS FOR JULY 18, 1949

5 China, Asia and the US: An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Mid-Year Report
6 The Fourth Round
7 Snyder to London
7 The Unsolved Mystery
8 Herblock Cartoon
8 Defeat for Monopoly
9 Outside America
10 Reuther in the Saddle
11 Federal Aid to Education: A Catechism
12 America and the British Crisis
16 Harold L. Ickes
17 Books
20 Radio and Television
22 Movies

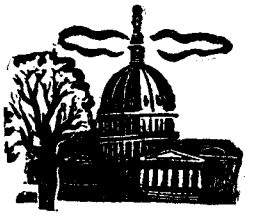
MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler, J. Raymond Walsh, Harold Wolff
WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts), Percy Winner (Foreign Affairs)
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Walter F. Grueninger

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

LOOKS LIKE a heavy week, folks, and we might as well start with an impertinence. Here accordingly, set down without a comma, is the first paragraph of a mimeographed broadcast of Senator Tydings (D, Md.), distributed a day early to all Washington news bureaus:

"Senator Tydings: Good afternoon. With me today in the studio is Mr. Macon Reed who has long been a member of the Senate Press Radio Gallery. This interview is completely unrehearsed and unwritten. Now, Mr. Reed, what is your first question?"



The "unwritten" interview goes on for four typed pages of previously prepared questions-and-answers.

The Truman Midyear Economic Report turns out to be about as expected. A "transition period" has followed inflation. Truman finally acknowledges that the dangers of the boom have been succeeded by the dangers of deflation. His own refusal to recognize this a little earlier is largely responsible for the GOP whoops of "inconsistency" now.

Truman's economic report of last January was valid at the time. But the economic tide almost immediately turned, as was visible to anybody. Truman had recommended a $4 billion tax increase to balance the budget. His insistence on this in the past six months in the face of rising deflation was politically stupid. He himself now agrees that "under present conditions immediate tax increases should be limited. . . ." His three economic advisers say simply, "The appearance of a government deficit will have to be accepted." As recently as his press conference of May 26, Truman was still telling reporters that he had not abandoned hope of increasing the tax rate. We wrote irritably in this column at that time: "The wisdom of a tax increase in the present recession is doubtful, and Truman knows it." The President now helps out our score as a prophet by agreeing.

So far as we can see, the calm, sensible, reassuring report is a valuable analysis. There is no real reason why things should get much worse if the eleven-point Truman program is adopted. The nation can scare itself into a depression, though it will take some doing in view of the many favorable factors present. But big business must make bigger price cuts than it has yet. To date, the cost of living has declined only three percent from the all-time peak. While the three members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers hold widely different views on some matters, they agree on this cardinal one. "Further price reductions," they flatly declare, "are essential."

Glancing through our files of "Washington Wire," we note the quotation of Justice Douglas on monopoly in the issue of June 27. He charged that Supreme Court philosophy has had the effect of breaking down anti-trust-law enforcement. "Big business has become bigger and bigger," he asserted. "Monopoly has flourished." Now able Representative Celler (D, N. Y.) launches a broad inquiry into the whole matter of anti-trust laws under the auspices of a strong Truman statement.

The similarity of the Truman-Douglas comments is rather startling. Here is the key sentence in the President's statement of last Saturday: ". . . Other matters . . . have at times appeared to overshadow the monopoly problem . . . but it is my conviction that, year in and year out, there is no more serious problem affecting our country and its free institutions than the distortions and abuses of our economic system which result when unen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lightened free enterprise turns to monopoly." Brandeis would have applauded.

The favorite word here in foreign affairs now is "momentum." The theory is that we have achieved "momentum" both in world recovery and in our duel with Russia and that it must not be lost. Presumably the Atlantic Treaty will pop through the Senate this week. Momentum. Then the House committee will promptly start hearings on the arms-export program. More momentum. Also reciprocal trade, Marshall Plan funds and the rest. More and more momentum.

The trouble with all this is the sudden emergence of the big world dollar crisis that has sent financial officials rushing to London. This is really something to worry about because it represents the threat of a world-trade breakdown. It could wreck Big Three unity. It could wreck momentum. The Administration is worried. The world has goods to sell and people desperately needing them, but the medium of exchange has broken down. A bizarre feature is that the United States is still taking the world's gold and busily storing it away underground. Some new device to carry world trade is needed—fast.

Notes. A lot of Senators are delighted with their new, small, half-moon temporary quarters in the historic old Supreme Court room in the Capitol; to save space, desks are omitted and they are all pressed into close, clublike intimacy. . . . Steel negotiations are watched with deepest interest; no marked post-inflation trend in wage settlements has developed, and steel may decide the new direction. . . . Plans for a "trial run" of the Brannan farm plan with direct subsidies to farmers on a few commodities have a good chance in the House; the real difficulty is the Senate. . . . The first units under the big new housing law are expected in 14 months. . . . And finally, musical street cars have come to Washington, with piped-in radio, advertisements and everything.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Popular Front

SIR: In the *New Republic* of June 13, Percy Winner describes the French Popular Front as "an instrument of political conciliation that . . . would give France the strength to frustrate Fascism and resist Communism." As the Communists were, at least, equal partners in the enterprise, who was kidding whom? It is then asserted that "in terms of real political possibility the Popular Front died bloodily during a few hours on February 6, 1934."

The Popular Front, as far as it ever was a "real political possibility," was a consequence of February 6, 1934. It didn't exist before. If it be argued that there was already a case for a realistic alliance of all Left parties in face of the German-Fascist menace by 1934, it was being most effectively advocated by M. Déat, M. Doriot and M. Gaston Bergery —all of them later ornaments of the Vichy regime.

Cambridge, England D. W. BROGAN

Crisis in Japan

SIR: Your editorial, "Time to Leave Japan" (May 30 issue), raises a number of important questions. Among them is the problem of how we can expect our occupation programs to accomplish anything useful as long as we base them on false assumptions.

For example, your editorial mentions as one of our successful democratic reforms the new Constitution Americans wrote for the Japanese. To prove its worth, you denounce the Japanese Constitution which it replaced by saying that it "prohibited liberal reforms and even dangerous thoughts," and that the government "provided no safeguards of any kind for the individual." This statement, of course, has no basis in fact. A cursory look at the Meiji Constitution would have disclosed that it has a long, detailed section guaranteeing basic civil rights except in times of national crisis.

What went wrong with civil liberties in Japan is not failure of constitutional guarantees but the fact that the government, in times of "national crisis," abrogated those it felt were "dangerous to national security." All governments, of course, claim this right. In a democracy or a constitutional monarchy civil liberties are restored when the national crisis is over. This sort of cycle of repression and restoration has been recurrent in modern Japan.

We Americans are tending more and more to place our confidence in "instruments" of government, forgetting that no instrument is better than the way it is administered. . . .

Our occupation program, and the problem of Japan's future, ought to be more widely discussed, and with considerably more realism. Much more attention should be paid to our economic policies. We have made Japan conspicuously our responsibility. We ought to to begin to get the facts straight about what we have been doing there.

New York City HELEN MEARS

Start with Congress

SIR: Liberals in politics were so much pleased and surprised by the unexpected triumph of President Truman and by the gains made in Congress for the Northern Democrats because of Truman's persistent raising of the issues of civil rights, labor's rights, and economic security, that they became unduly optimistic. The coalition of reactionary Northern Republicans and reactionary Southern Democrats has brought them back to reality. The facts are that 75 Democrats replaced Republicans in the House and 9 Democrats replaced Republicans in the Senate. This is a maximum net gain of 150 for the liberal side in the House and 18 in the Senate. But the crucial wrong votes in the 80th Congress in both Houses were carried in most instances by greater majorities. For example, in the House the following wrong votes were carried by majorities of more than 150:

- Overriding the Taft-Hartley law veto.
- Overriding the income-tax-reduction veto.
- Overriding the veto of the bill exempting railroads from anti-trust law.
- Enactment of the bill to restrict social-security beneficiaries.
- The Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill.

In the Senate the wrong votes carried by a majority of more than 18 included:

- Overriding the Taft-Hartley law veto.
- The veto against reimposing the excess-profits tax.
- Overriding the veto of the income-tax-reduction law.
- The vote to exempt railroads from the anti-trust law.
- Overriding the veto to restrict social-security beneficiaries.

. . . The tendency among many liberals, especially those who were misguided enough to oppose Truman for renomination, is again to blame the President. The fact is that we have just not elected enough people to Congress who believe the way we do. . .

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 121, NUMBER 3, ISSUE 1807, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 18, 1949 **New Republic**

CHINA, ASIA AND THE U. S.

TREMENDOUS PRESSURE is now being exerted to change American policy toward China. Chiang Kai-shek, from his island retreat of Formosa, has given a press interview declaring that China must be rescued by the US from Communism or all Asia will be lost. Substantial support for this point of view exists in Congress. Many magazines and newspapers have seized on Mao Tse-tung's recent avowals of solidarity with Russia as a reason to endorse Chiang's plea.

It is difficult to see just what Chiang's adherents propose, short of full-scale war with the Chinese Communists, which would probably turn into full-scale war with Russia as well. For several years we gave the Chinese Nationalists enormous quantities of military and civilian goods, including much industrial equipment, useful both in peace and war. Yet they proved of no discernible value to the corrupt and slothful Nanking regime. It has even been argued that Chiang's plight was worse with American aid than without it, since this aid seemed to the Chinese to justify the charge that he was only the tool of Western imperialism.

The time to save China from Communism was years ago, before the Communist army had overrun most of the country. The agency to do it was the Nanking government which has betrayed so completely its own revolutionary origins. The way to do it was to introduce democratic ideas and practices as rapidly as possible and, above all, to relieve the wretched masses of the Chinese people from the extortion inflicted upon them by landlords, industrial employers and the government itself. But this was not done. We gave our money, our military supplies and our moral support to Chiang for the maintenance of the status quo; if we ever really tried to push him in a democratic direction, there is no evidence that we made any impression. The situation in China has been like that in Greece; in our overpowering fear and hostility toward Russia and toward Communism we are willing to clasp hands with almost any regime, no matter how fascistic in character, which professes a desire to join us in this crusade.

There is a clear danger that much of Asia, and the nearby islands, may be lost in the same way and largely for the same reasons that have lost us China. In Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia, which are controlled by European powers, there is deep poverty—as there is everywhere in Asia—and there is also widespread unrest. While the situation is improving, the French, British and Dutch continue to practise, in varying degrees, exploitation of labor, the withholding of education, and the social snobbery which is the hallmark of the white man in this part of the world.

In some areas and to some extent the United States has sought to modify these practices. But we have never done as much as we could and should do. For complicated reasons, we have hesitated to use our overwhelming economic power, the power which makes the Marshall Plan the arbiter of Western Europe's fate. As far as stopping Communism in Southeast Asia is concerned, we might as well be doing nothing at all.

Now is the time to act, and President Truman's Point Four is the instrumentality. Britain, France and the Netherlands, while on the whole they are moving, are not doing so fast enough to offset the rising revolutionary tide. But the United States, working of course through the United Nations, and with the tremendous pressure we can exert on the European colonial powers, can produce the conditions which give the only hope that the drift toward Communism can be stopped. The economies of these countries must be aided in specific ways appropriate to the problem in each case. Most of all, their activities must be readjusted so that they will produce, to the greatest possible extent, goods needed by their own people, and not basic raw materials for export to the West. These countries need roads, electric power, handicraft industry, public health, education. They need convincing evidence that the white man's world no longer regards them as second-class human beings.

Can we afford it? The first answer is, Can we afford not to do it? Can we afford to see all of Asia—perhaps even including India as well—swinging into the Moscow orbit? But in fact a United Nations program of this sort would cost much less than most people suppose. A major part of it is expert technical assistance, and this we are in a position to export in large quanti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties at small cost. Another major part is a change in attitude on the part of all white men in the Orient, involving no expenditure that will ever show up on a bookkeeper's ledger. Many of the improvements that are needed would be self-liquidating investments, which could readily be made by private business under reasonable guarantees of safety. The situation calls for great imagination, great daring, great generosity for the sake of great stakes. Have we the necessary qualifications?

THE WEEK

MID-YEAR REPORT

In his mid-year economic report to Congress, President Truman has laid out a broad and promising course for the nation to follow. The keynote of his message is that there must be constant "growth and expansion" in the American economy, that with "constantly growing employment and purchasing power . . . and improved productivity . . . we can achieve within a few years a national output well above $300 billion."

The President's report is far better on goals than on specifics. It was consciously designed as an interim approach to the employment problem, the objective of the White House staff being to write a report which would take the President off the inflation limb where he has been perching precariously and at the same time not get him out on another one. The report from his Council of Economic Advisers on which he based his message was too uncertain in its conclusions to provide exactly the kind of material the White House staff needed for that purpose. "We find the prospect reassuring," the Council's analysis begins. It classifies investment plans, housing starts, business credit, public works and farm-price-support policy as the main "factors of underlying strength" in the economy; calls unemployment, the drop in industrial production, private investment and personal incomes the chief "elements of uncertainty"; admits that long-range interests demand that "wages move upward over the years" and that "further price reductions . . . are essential." The three members of the Council of Economic Advisers, reported to be at each other's throats, are agreed that "a government deficit will have to be accepted." The graphs and charts submitted in their report as "economic indicators" show unemployment and rent up, every other major factor in the economy down.

The Council concludes on a doubtful note:

"Some conditions are now favorable for a reversal of the downward trend in industrial production and employment"—some inventories are up, some prices are down, government spending may increase still more. *But,* the Council hedges, "there are other factors . . . which could produce a further weakening"—business investment in plants and equipment is expected to continue to fall during the rest of this year. "Thus, if counteracting forces are not marshaled, it is at least possible that the inventory and price adjustment may develop into an investment recession later this year or next year."

Although the President's Economic Advisers clearly attribute the present downturn to "a failure of consumer markets to expand," the softest spot in their report to the President is its failure to provide an adequate analysis of the weakness of consumer purchasing power (see Robert Nathan's economic analysis in this respect, in the following news story).

For two years the Council has been buckling under conservative criticism of the emphasis given in its very first report to the problem of maintaining consumer purchasing power. The omission of that emphasis in the latest report made it easy for the President to confine his recommendation for immediate legislative action to a skeleton program: farm-income supports, no major increases in taxes, a 75-cent minimum wage, more and better unemployment compensation and social security, enactment of Point Four and restoration of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Included in the President's brief eleven points, however, are several proposals which provide a firm bridge between this interim report and the kind of economic-expansion program the situation demands. The President called for broader treatment of the problem of promoting private investment in production, for more extensive planning of public works, and for quarantining and giving official attention to areas of serious unemployment as they develop.

Truman can afford the tentative approach to growing unemployment which he adopts in this report because Democrats in Congress are taking the initiative on a more definite and comprehensive program. The Economic Expansion Act of 1949 being introduced independently by Senate and House liberals provides specific ways to achieve the general goals the President has set. If more unemployment and deeper recession develop in the fall, the President can still come out all right politically just by dropping the interim report and calling a special session of Congress to put the Economic Expansion Act into effect.

THE FOURTH ROUND

The issue on labor's demand for a fourth round of wage increases is now joined. The CIO and industry have agreed that steel is to be the test; a strike against Big Steel is almost a certainty. The US Steel Corporation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which sets the pattern in its field, refuses to discuss an increase in wages on the grounds that steel operations are off, living costs are no longer rising and, most significantly, "the granting now of a future wage increase by United States Steel would set a bad precedent . . . undoubtedly would encourage a general round of wage increases throughout American industry."

The CIO is again basing its case on a 52-page economic analysis prepared for it by Robert R. Nathan, New Deal brain-truster. Entitled "A National Economic Policy for 1949," this newest Nathan report presents the technical arguments in favor of a fourth round of wage raises. Casting aside the necessarily cautious language used by the President's Council of Economic Advisers to describe our present economic situation, Nathan views the domestic future with considerable alarm. "There are no firm indications that a major depression is imminent," he reports, but neither does he see any sign that a definite upturn is in prospect within the next few months. He diagnoses lack of purchasing power as the root cause of the increasing unemployment and considers that "labor will be doing management as well as the country a service" in vigorously fighting for wage increases.

Profits of all corporations in the first quarter of 1949, Nathan points out, were running at an annual rate of $31 billion before taxes, nearly $19 billion after taxes. Wages and salaries totaled slightly more than $80 billion on an annual rate. In other words, profits before taxes amounted to 40 cents for every dollar of wages and salaries, even in the first quarter of this year—and after taxes, about 23 cents for every dollar of payroll:

> Even if profits declined another 15 percent in the second quarter of 1949, current earnings before taxes would equal 30 percent of wages . . . still a third higher than in 1944 . . . as a ratio to the net worth, still a third above the war years and 70 percent higher than in 1929. Even allowing for a 15 percent drop in the second quarter, total profits would still show higher returns to stockholders than at the peak of war profits, and much higher than in 1929.

A similar report prepared for the CIO by Nathan in December, 1946, was the basis of labor's drive for the second round of wage raises during 1947. That produced an extra 15 cents per hour for most industrial workers. The United Steelworkers are expecting as much, or more, from the new Nathan report in their current showdown with US Steel. The union is demanding, in addition to the wage increase (as yet unspecified), $150-a-month pensions and increased social-security benefits.

The government, through the National Mediation Service, will try to the end for a peaceful settlement. Convinced of the righteousness of his cause in terms of the public as well as labor's welfare, Philip Murray will insist on peace on his terms this time, whatever that may involve.

SNYDER TO LONDON

The talks in London between Sir Stafford Cripps, Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder and Assistant Secretary William McChesney Martin may determine whether the Marshall Plan and/or Western political unity survive. Before Snyder and Martin left Washington, general agreement had been reached on the line they would pursue in their talks with the Continental governments and the British. The Europeans were to be told firmly that they must devalue their currencies and tighten their belts. In all the Washington conferences, ECA chief Paul Hoffman insisted vigorously that now we should really "get tough" with Britain, that Cripps should be told that any ideas of strengthening his sterling bloc and making long-term barter arrangements with Eastern Europe and the Soviets would be considered "subversive" and dealt with accordingly.

Private advice and reports reaching ECA and the State Department from Ambassador Averell Harriman in Paris pleaded to the contrary for understanding of the British dilemma and concentration on finding a mutually acceptable way out of it. Secretary of State Acheson took no sides. Snyder and Martin are operating under the broadest kind of mandate from the White House, with only a general assumption that they will insist on convertibility and devaluation.

Nearly unnoticed, 42-year-old William McChesney Martin, former president of the New York Stock Exchange and former board member of the Export-Import Bank, has become a principal figure in American economic policy. When Martin quietly moved, at a cut in salary, from the Export-Import Bank to his present job of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, it was with a definite understanding that his responsibilities there would go far beyond those of the usual sub-cabinet official. In the event that Snyder finally decided to move back into the private banking world for good, Martin was to become Secretary. Meanwhile, his job is to brain-trust major operations for his chief.

Martin is bright and able, in a middle-of the-road way. Snyder in recent months has come to understand that to hold his own with such men as Acheson, Hoffman and Harriman in competition for the Presidential ear, he has to have help. He agreed to Martin's terms. Martin has a personal prescription for curing the worldwide dollar shortage which is causing all the trouble. He would extend the investment principle of President Truman's Point Four program across the board, provide government guarantees of all foreign investments made by American firms anywhere in the world, not just in the "underdeveloped areas" covered by Point Four. Some American bankers think this might be the easiest way out of what they admit to be a dangerously worsening situation.

THE UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Attorney General Tom C. Clark says that the Hiss case will be retried this autumn, following the disagreement by the jury, which stood eight to four for conviction. The Hiss slander suit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against Whittaker Chambers for $75,000 is still pending in Baltimore. If either or both of these cases are ever tried—which is far from certain—we shall perhaps find out whether Hiss is the innocent victim of a dreadful plot to destroy him or is one of the most brazen and accomplished liars in history. Or, quite possibly, no matter what happens in future court proceedings, we may never know for sure.

In this morass one fact stands out clearly. The members of Congress who are now trying the case over again in the newspapers with their attacks on Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, who presided, are guilty of gross impropriety. Typical of remarks by several of them is the statement of Representative Richard M. Nixon (R, Calif.), who said, insisting that certain witnesses should have been called: "Perhaps the judge had good technical grounds for barring those witnesses. But I think [they] should have been permitted to testify," etc. What Nixon, and others, seem to be trying to say is that any man accused of Communism in these hysterical times is not quite entitled to the full protection of the law.

The criticisms of Judge Kaufman have been answered by former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, once a judge himself and now president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, among others. If Judge Kaufman acted improperly, he should be impeached and all the facts spread on the public record. Representative Nixon and his friends, of course, have no intention of attempting any such thing. Theirs is the simple attitude of seeking to discredit the process of justice because in a given case the outcome not only was unsatisfactory to them, but indirectly was a rebuke to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of which they are members.

DEFEAT FOR MONOPOLY

The big steel and cement trusts, relying on Congress to legalize their basing-point methods of price fixing and discrimination, have been treated in the House as they were in the Senate. The House Judiciary Committee, over the opposition of the Federal Trade Commission, had stricken out the Senate-approved Kefauver amendment to the O'Mahoney bill—an amendment providing that absorbing freight charges in "good faith" to meet a competitor's price could not be used as a defense if the effect was to injure competition substantially. On the House floor an even stronger amendment was introduced by Representative John Carroll (D, Colo.) and passed by a surprisingly large majority, 117 to 81.

Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.) led the fight for the amended bill almost single-handed. In the weeks before the House debate, Patman made more than 50 speeches and inserted into the *Congressional Record* some 100 pieces of material to prove his point that the unamended bill would nullify recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the power of the FTC, "repeal substantially the anti-trust laws, and legalize an un-American cartel system, known as the basing-point system, which encourages monopolies and trusts and is price-fixing." Patman was joined by Representative Hale Boggs (D, La.) in his denunciation of the bill.

As passed by the House, the measure amends the FTC Act by providing that it is not an unfair method of competition or an unfair or deceptive act for a seller, acting independently, to quote or sell at delivered prices or to absorb freight charges. At the same time, the Carroll amendment makes it definitely illegal to absorb freight costs in delivered prices where, even in "good faith," the action would violate the Clayton Anti-Trust Act as amended by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Robinson-Patman Act. The object of the amendment was to kill the "good faith" defense against charges of illegal use of freight absorption, thereby protecting government court victories in anti-trust and price-fixing cases.

The bill now goes to House-Senate Conference Committee, although it is only slightly different from the one passed by the Senate. So long as the Carroll-Kefauver amendments are retained, there is no threat of a Presidential veto.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Portuguese backlands are areas of ignorance and poverty. Illiteracy is as high as anywhere in the Balkans. Hunger is the rule, the standard of living is abysmally low, malnutritional and wasting diseases are endemic. Peasants live and work like cattle; laborers in the towns have no unions; there are few doctors and teachers, many politicians and priests. In few places in the world is the contrast between the beauty of nature and the misery of man more tragic. The peasants sing the national folk song: it is called the *fado* and it means fate.

In these benighted provinces of a nation which offers the worst of African and Asiatic backwardness in the guise of a member of the Western European community of "Atlantic democracies," the regional public-health officer is a man whose prestige almost equals that of the local bishop. Always the *delegado de saude* is picked by Dictator Salazar with an eye to his subservience to the "ideals" of the fascist Estado Novo, but doctors can read, have been taught to think, can understand what they hear by short-wave radio; and despite the Dictator, some of the doctors double as teachers. Moreover, some of the peasants, seeking a hope nearer than heaven, have been turning away from the priests.

Recently the Dictator dismissed more than a dozen of the *delegados de saude*. The official reason was that they had "failed to defend the best interests of the state." The real reason was that they had offended Salazar and the real boss of the Estado Novo—Lieutenant Colonel Fernando Santos Costa, Minister of War. They had dared to vote the wrong way in the so-called presidential election last winter, and told their patients why.

It is a sign of the times in Portugal. Conditions have grown no better since the "election"—though turned into a one-candidate farce—showed the extent to which the lessons of misery (for which book learning is unnecessary) have taught the little people the ugly hollowness of Salazar's pretenses of moral justice. There is no dollar credit; unemployment is increasing; the export market is extremely slack; a bad drought hurt the crops.

The Dictator is frightened. More and more he is showing signs of nervousness; more and more Santos Costa is coming to the fore. At a dinner for General Alfonso Botelho, head of the GNR—the fascist National Republican Guard, the war minister said, "The army is always Portugal. *Em guarda*—on guard!" Puppet-President Carmona who "won" the election thanks to the war minister's threat of military force against the opposition is so feeble that he can't stand up without support, and when he is seated he promptly falls asleep. Behind the octogenarian marshal is the young lieutenant-colonel. A vice-president is to be appointed by the Dictator so that no new "election" will be needed if Carmona falls asleep for good.

Not long ago Pierre de Gaulle, brother of the French would-be dictator, was the guest of the Portuguese dictator-in-being; they exchanged compliments and tips on how to keep or get power at Estoril, where a little more than a dozen years ago the death of the Spanish Republic was plotted by Spanish generals with the blessing of the head of the Estado Novo and of the hierarchies of Spain and Portugal. The lesser de Gaulle also listened to the singing of the *fado* which means fate. Generalissimo Franco was represented.

Not one of the dismissed *delegados de saude* figured in the six pages of beautiful photographs of Portugal which *Life* recently published to attract American tourists—friends of Atlantic democracy—to the land of the Virgin of Fatima. Nor did less beautiful scenes of Portuguese life appear of the sort that had made the doctors risk and lose their official careers. *Life* gave only two pages each to France, the Benelux countries, the Scandinavian countries, perhaps because the Azores and the huge new airfield near Oporto cancel out a great deal of malnutrition and misery, making Portugal three times as democratic as France, Belgium or Sweden.

Nor was the disease rate in the Portuguese backlands mentioned in an International News Service dispatch from Lisbon, which said:

> The Portuguese government has created a State Council for National Security, in agreement with the Spanish government which is doing the same. Police controls, censorship and security measures have been increased in Portugal. The new council has exceptional powers to use preventive and immediate action by the national militia which can occupy militarily any place in the country where a presumably subversive meeting is to take place, and which can carry out at once mass arrests.

It is possible that American tourists may nevertheless be deterred from going to the land of the Virgin of Fatima by concern over the "widespread terroristic and revolutionary Communist plot" which Hearst's INS has helped Salazar bring to the democratic world's sympathetic attention. If so, they may dismiss their fears and book passage: Soon ECA money and US arms will be sent to Salazar under the Atlantic Pact to help bring a New Order to the threatened Estado Novo; and Santos Costa's brave police and soldiers will triumphantly cope with the Communists disguised as ignorant, hungry, unhealthy and unhappy peasants and workers. PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REUTHER IN THE SADDLE

by Gerry Weeks

DETROIT

As THE DELEGATES line up for the mid-July convention of the United Auto Workers, the union is more firmly under the leadership of Walter P. Reuther than ever before. What remains of leftist opposition is concentrated in Flint and in a bare handful of the 101 locals in Detroit. And even in these few, the opposition is dwindling.

In spring local elections, Reuther men retained all previously held positions and made some gains. The right wing won control of large locals at the Dodge and Plymouth plants, previously strongly anti-Reutherite. Five locals—those at Packard, Hudson, Cadillac, Fleetwood and Bohn Aluminum—remain in the opposition camp, but their membership, set against the 550,000 Michigan total, is small indeed. It is doubtful that Reuther will lose one seat on the 18-man executive board at the Milwaukee convention. Of its present personnel, only Dick Reisinger and Paul Miley, of Cleveland, and George Burt, of the Canadian UAW, are left-wingers, and they have offered Reuther little opposition.

The Ford strike apparently did nothing to decrease Reuther's prestige. He came out of it with delegate strength of 75 percent, a gain over his position of last year. It is generally conceded that this strike was crammed down the throats of the UAW by the company to weaken the union's bargaining position in present negotiations on a new contract. The issue was real enough—there was a speedup, repeatedly applied, at the Rouge and at the Lincoln-Mercury plant. But the UAW was reluctant to use its heaviest weapon just before the big battle over the contract was to open. On the other hand, with a strong left-wing faction in the huge Local 600, and facing a legitimate grievance, the International could not afford to be accused of lack of militancy. Twice it managed to head off the walkout, but the third time the strike could not be averted.

The dispute was ended with an agreement on the same device originally proposed—arbitration of the speedup. Sole gain for the union was a clearer definition of the production rates which were to be examined. Immediately, negotiations started on technical aspects of the Ford-UAW contract, discussions on economic issues being saved for later.

Gerry Weeks has for many years watched developments in the United Automobile Workers, CIO, as a member of the editorial staff of the Detroit Free Press.

Those discussions have now begun. John S. Bugas, Ford vice-president in charge of labor relations, started them with a lengthy newspaper release, bringing charges of "propaganda barrage" from the union. The release was an attack on the UAW's pet project for 1949—company-financed pensions. It offered what Bugas called a "stabilization pattern" and proposed that the union withdraw its demands for a pension in order to ensure "steady jobs." What's more, Bugas gave a hint that Ford would be delighted if it could tie in wages with the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index, in somewhat the same pattern as was done in the UAW contract with General Motors.

He proposed that prices be reviewed in January and July, 1950. Right now, there were to be no raises, and definitely no pensions. (The union's pension proposal is for $100 monthly benefits for employees 60 years old with 25 years of service.) Referring to a "downward economic trend," Bugas said:

"Some industries have been badly affected already. Today's management-labor problem has thus become one of long-range employee security—not that of short-sighted economic advantage." For this long-range security he proposed freezing the Ford workers' wages for 18 months.

Reuther did pretty well in this preliminary sparring. He started out by reminding Bugas that last year Ford proposed a wage cut. At the end of negotiations, the union had gained a 13-cent hourly boost. He continued:

When you point out that certain industries are affected badly, it is not difficult to ascertain the reason. The textile and shoe industries are depressed because insecure auto workers and other workers cannot buy garments and shoes with their present wages at the artificially high price levels.

Your own answer to the question you pose is, in effect, to drag a healthy industry down into the same condition as a few others, which in turn will drag others and perhaps the whole economy down with them.

Both General Motors and Chrysler will be presented with the pension plan this year, although both have contracts which run through next spring.

The shooting of Victor Reuther, educational director of the UAW, produced the same emotions in UAW circles as did that of his brother Walter a year ago.

The union listed the same suspects in both cases: die-hard opponents among employers or employees; Communists; Fascists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In both cases, the Police Department seized on the idea of a Communist conspiracy, probably directed from abroad, as an easy way to escape responsibility. Detroit police were, if anything, more inept in their efforts to trace the man who shot Victor than they were in Walter's case. For a while, the best they could do was to pick up drunks (three of them, one after another) who had said loudly in bars: "Ya wanna know who shot Reuther? I did." Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy then fell back on the "mammoth dragnet" operation, old style. About 400 men were brought in, and within three days every one had been released. The only result was a unanimous protest by every liberal group in the city and state at the mass violation of civil liberties involved in the operation.

More and more, the feeling is growing here that the Reuther shootings may have been the work of an unbalanced mind, somebody with a hatred of all unions, and of the Reuthers as conspicuous union leaders.

There seems no diminution of the famed Reuther guts. Told he would lose the sight of his right eye, Victor merely said:

"Good thing they didn't shoot out my tongue. I couldn't make a living."

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

FEDERAL aid to education has reached the halfway mark in the 81st Congress. The Senate has passed (58-15) a bipartisan bill, introduced by Thomas (D, Utah), Taft (R, Ohio) and other Senators. The House subcommittee on education has favorably reported a similar bill, introduced by Representative Graham Barden (D, N. C.), to the full Education and Labor Committee. The House and Senate versions differ on several major points, which will be discussed in the following questions and answers on federal-aid-to-education legislation in Congress:

Q. Is there a need today for federal grants in aid to education?

A. Because of inadequate funds, this year at least two million of our 25 million school children are receiving a substandard education. There is an acute shortage of teachers and facilities. One teacher in nine in the public schools is serving on an emergency or substandard certificate. Last year 43 percent of the teachers in public schools were paid less than $2,400 for the year; 12 percent had scheduled salaries of less than $1,600. Thousands of children are attending part-time schools. About three million children between the ages of five and seventeen, inclusive, attend no school whatever, according to US Census estimates.

Q. Are there educational inequalities?

A. The best-financed school systems spend $6,000 or more per classroom per year and the poorest-financed systems less than $100 per classroom, a variation of 60 to 1. This situation is primarily due to inequalities in the financial resources of school districts. (Income per capita ranges from $659 in Mississippi to $1,781 in New York.) The low-income school districts suffer, since a satisfactory level of expenditure for schools is impossible with the available state and local tax resources. Only through federal assistance can all states raise the level of service in substandard areas.

Q. Why can't aid to education be confined to a few states which need it most?

A. Because the country's wealth is geographically maldistributed; states on the Northeastern seaboard are generally prosperous, while the Southern states are seriously impoverished. In 1944-45, New Jersey expended $198.33 for each child in its public schools, while Mississippi spent no more than $44.80. The amount spent for each child in New York was $194.47, while in Arkansas it was only $60.26, although Arkansas spent a greater percentage of its income for its schools than did New York. Such aid must be in the form of an equalization measure—federal assistance must vary in direct proportion to the need for federal assistance.

Q. On what basis would federal aid be allocated to the states?

A. Both the Senate and House measures authorize an annual appropriation of $300 million. The Senate bill establishes a minimum of $55 per year per pupil (the House bill, $60). Federal grants would vary from $5 per child in about 30 high-income states to about $29 in Mississippi and other low-income states.

Q. What about minority groups?

A. The Senate bill requires that in states where separate public schools are maintained for different races, federal funds must be used for the benefit of such minority groups in an amount which is not less than the proportion that such groups bear to the state's total population. However, the House bill leaves distribution of the funds up to the states, which, in the South,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would mean that the Negro schools would continue to be inadequate and substandard.

Q. Should parochial and other non-public schools be included?

A. This is one of the most controversial points in the legislation. The Senate solved the problem by including parochial schools in a separate school-health bill. This provides that states which have in the past given aid to parochial and private schools could continue to do so. The House bill, however, strictly prohibits the states from using any of the federal aid for non-public schools.

Q. How would the program be administered?

A. The Senate bill requires that each state submit a plan to the US Office of Education. The plan must meet certain requirements of the federal agency. However, on the state level, the program would be administered either by the chief state school officer or a board of education. The state educational authority would represent the state in the administration of these funds, make an audit of federal funds apportioned to local school jurisdictions, and submit necessary reports to the US Office of Education.

The House bill does not require that the so-called "state plans" be submitted to the Office of Education. The Treasury Department would make the payments to the states and the amounts given will "become funds of the state to which paid . . . and . . . the expenditure of such funds thereafter shall be subject to the laws of such state rather than the laws of the United States." This, says Barden, eliminates any possibility of federal control. At the same time, many people feel that it weakens the program and opens the way for unfair distribution of funds within the states.

AMERICA AND THE BRITISH CRISIS

by Michael Straight

LONDON

FORGET FOR A MOMENT the headlines crying "New OEEC Crisis" and the grave faces emerging from heated conference halls. This summer in Western Europe paychecks mean a little more week by week, instead of much less. The miners' children in Britain look self-conscious in new clothes. The workers of France are walking home in postwar shoes. There is milk available for most expectant mothers; a bar of soap in quite a few kitchens; a slab of butter and a long roll of bread on most tables; a basis for human dignity among ordinary men.

Within each country in Europe, the Marshall Plan —that is, self-help backed by America—has worked economic wonders in two years. It has worked political wonders as well. As empty shelves vanished in cupboards and shop windows, empty seats appeared in the political rallies of the dictatorial and the dispossessed. De Gaullist branch offices closed down. The Communists, who swore that the program of the *"expansionistes Yankees"* meant ruin, were hard-pressed to find political kindling wood.

Yet the conflicts within the West are unresolved and growing. And the present stability of Western Europe rests on supports of full employment and popular understanding in America, which from Paris seem appallingly infirm.

The present recession may seem a minor adjustment to some Americans, but to all Europeans it is a major disaster. All the production schedules of the OEEC were based on the assumption of increased exports to America. The losses in these exports more than outweigh the gains in ERP aid. France, with her wonderfully balanced economy, can for a time absorb the shock. Britain, a huge processing plant into which raw materials are poured and from which industrial products flow, is without protection today. Her reserves are minimal, her food imports cannot be greatly reduced, her raw-material imports cannot be cut without causing mass unemployment and lowering her ability to export. Some Americans complacently remark that now British manufacturers may see the light and cut costs. But America's sterling purchases are largely rubber, cocoa, tin and wool. Lowering the living standards of British workers does not affect these products at all.

The impact of the recession on Britain has been redoubled by loose talk in America about the devaluation of the pound. Naturally American importers have withheld purchases from Britain in anticipation of better terms of trade. The result has been to drive Britain's reserves of gold and dollars well below the lowest limit of financial safety. And yet devaluation offers no solution for Britain at present. It might increase the physical volume of British exports to the dollar area. But because of the lower buying power of sterling, it would not increase Britain's dollar earnings at all. It would,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

however, force prices and costs up in Britain (for the trade unions, already under heavy pressure, would be compelled to fight for wage increases) and so lower her competitive position in world markets.

With understandable bitterness, Britons and Europeans feel that by permitting unemployment to spread and income to decline, America has broken a vital international commitment to maintain high levels of economic activity. They feel that America, in every possible manner, is now undertaking to force her competitive exports onto Europe, and so to export her unemployment to Europe. And since the prevention of unemployment is the primary obligation of every democratic party in Western Europe, they feel that America is shifting a heavy burden onto European democracy.

The anti-American potential in Western Europe was very great at the war's end. Understandably, Europeans felt that collaborationists, cartelists and Fascists were regaining their lost power, with American support. The genius of the Marshall Plan was that it divorced American pressure from American aid. In its first year, Britain advanced a long way toward socialism, and the fact that in France and Italy, ERP aid was used to speed the return of luxury and privilege was not America's fault. Now the good will is being sapped, and once more the Right is gaining.

In the new dispute over the inter-European-payments system, the first real rift has been opened in the Marshall Plan and the structure of Western economic collaboration has been shaken.

The roots of this conflict, which raged in Paris at the end of June, lie deep in the OEEC system. When the needs of the OEEC countries were first submitted to Washington, it was clear that many of the products sought from America could be supplied by the OEEC countries themselves. The task was to break down the trade barriers within Europe and to establish a system of credit large enough to finance the unbalanced trade of each OEEC country with every other country in the system. To promote these credits, American aid was divided between outright grants and conditional aid extended to an OEEC nation if it would extend equivalent drawing rights, on its own currency, to other OEEC countries which wanted to buy from it more than it wanted to buy from them. This conditional aid was merged into the payments system adopted in 1948.

The purpose of the system was to expand trade within Europe while preventing the flow of gold or dollars from Europe. But the OEEC nations were profoundly different in their levels of productivity, their reliance on free enterprise or planning and their patterns of trade. Belgium made a unique contribution to European recovery and created unique problems. She always sold more to Western Europe than she bought from this region. She came out of the war with her factories intact, her currency holdings substantial and her finances stable. She expanded her exports by bilateral agreements in which unwanted luxury products were bound to vital goods such as flax and steel by tied sales. And so, despite a side credit, she drew $140 million from Britain's dollar reserve in 1948.

Naturally, the creditor countries in Western Europe wanted payment in dollars. Naturally the debtor countries wanted to maintain their dollar reserves. Britain is a net creditor in Western Europe but her debtors have no dollars, and she has financed a dollar drain to Belgium, France, Western Germany and other countries beyond her capacity to pay.

The intra-European payments system ended in July, 1949. In its place, Sir Stafford Cripps proposed (as one of many OEEC reforms pressed by Britain) that the commercial barriers to trade within Europe be abolished by a system that provided full transferability of all currencies within Europe and full protection for these currencies from convertibility into dollars.

Against this view, the American staff of ECA argued that 1949 was the time to break bilateralism and restrictionism in all forms. It maintained that free trade and greater productivity in Europe were the real objectives of the Marshall Plan and that only by exposing European commerce to competition could high costs and inefficient methods be overcome. ECA supported the general position of Belgium, to introduce convertibility into the payments system.

When Cripps rejected this proposal, ECA, through the medium of Maurice Petsche, French Finance Minister, proposed a new scheme. Under this scheme, 40 percent of the drawing rights granted by the creditor nations at OEEC would be transferable to other debtor nations at OEEC, or, if unused, to claims on the dollar pool of conditional aid.

Cripps replied that at a time of falling American imports and reduced ECA grants, Britain could not risk the $80 million she stood to lose under the Petsche proposal. And he added that the proposal was wrong in principle because in 1949 the liberalization of OEEC trade and the convertibility into dollars of OEEC currencies were basically conflicting aims. He argued that the Petsche proposals would force OEEC nations to restrict their imports from one another in a competitive scramble to accumulate credits against the OEEC area,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and therefore claims against the limited dollars available in conditional aid.

All day in conference halls and all night in hotel rooms, the experts in Paris tried to reach agreement. At the end, because deadlock was intolerable, Cripps's position was recognized and a makeshift armistice arranged for the press. But there was no resolution of the real conflicts that have arisen: instead, an internal wound has been opened in the West that may go on bleeding, weakening OEEC, and, since OEEC is the core of Western collaboration, hurting all our joint endeavors.

The issue on which this breach has opened is essentially unimportant. But it may well be magnified by misunderstanding, particularly on Capitol Hill. Without doubt Averell Harriman and his two advisers were acting under pressure because of the attacks made on ECA during the recent Senate hearings. They believed that some gesture in the direction of American trading methods was necessary; they urged Cripps not to endanger the entire ECA appropriations in the future for the sake of an $80 million risk this year. Now, the area of misunderstanding may be far greater. The "damned British Socialists," the isolationist argument will run, have repudiated the American way of life. They have rejected free trade and competition. They have defied America and the rest of Europe, and from now on they and Europe can work their own passage.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Scandinavian countries were entirely behind Cripps. So were many Frenchmen who feel that Petsche, in permitting France to be used against a creditor of France, was gravely mistaken. Competition was never the issue in this conflict because Britain and other OEEC nations simply cannot supply the goods that Europe needs from America. Nor was free trade the issue. Britain and most of the OEEC countries have lived by world trade. There has been no dispute on objectives. The problem has been *how* and *when*. In 1945 Lord Keynes was overpowered by the US Treasury and compelled to commit Britain to premature convertibility of the pound. Britain—and America—paid a high price for that surrender.

This year, under the spell of the same clichés, the same results were invited, at least in the early proposals. And although ECA may have acted in anticipation of the mood of the Senate, conformity or non-conformity with prevailing prejudices on Capitol Hill cannot be the standard of right or wrong in world economics. In this last conflict, the British were largely right and the Americans were largely wrong. For the British position flowed directly from the first premise of ECA—that the purpose of the Marshall Plan was to make Europe independent of American aid by 1952.

This objective was almost impossible to attain. The French and some others took it lightly, spending the dollars while they could and postponing the real problems until the day of reckoning came. In contrast, the British are humiliated by the position of suppliant and anxious to be free of dependence on American charity. The objective, although seemingly impossible, was thoroughly in accord with their deepest instincts. So they set out to close the dollar gap within the five-year limit. They challenged the French, the Belgians and others whose claims on ECA aid were as large in the second year as in the first. They challenged the right of Denmark and others to create industries and types of agriculture that would require continued lending from America. Because inflation drained financial reserves and delayed increased productivity, the British insisted that financial stability in 1949 was a test of good faith among OEEC nations. At the same time they maintained that the short-term objective compelled a concentration on short-term solutions, including exchange controls and protection against dollar drains.

In America, the program was sold first as a means of defeating Communism. So when the Communist tide receded it lacked a basic rationalization. The Administration developed new rationalizations—European federation, free trade, free competition—but all these were long-range objectives requiring long-range solutions. Meanwhile, the 1952 cut-off date remained, and the mood of the Senate indicated, to Britain at least, that the ECA commitment might be broken long before 1952.

Of course, if we maintain the 1952 cut-off date, we have no right to protest the trading technique which that date dictates. If our purpose is to promote other techniques, we have no right to hold Europe to the 1952 cut-off. Until now this conflict has not been acute. The OEEC nations have been repairing their bombed-out docks and railroad yards with ECA equipment, according to the separate plan of each nation. They now must plan new industries and new patterns of trade. And we have insisted that they act according to one over-all plan.

This means shutting down worn-out pits, specializing in new industries, moving hundreds of thousands of men hundreds and thousands of miles. All this is easier said than done. When the British close down a pit, the miners go into its dark recesses and sing hymns for a week. Settling a half-million surplus Italian workers, when there is no housing available, is no easy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

job. Standardization of markets and industries in Europe means the creation of comparable systems of statistics and tax collection. There is scarcely a certified accountant on the European continent; and while the British are being taxed up to 18 shillings in the pound, exactly 20 citizens of France have admitted to incomes of more than $6,000 a year. Europe-wide economic planning requires Europe-wide political representation. Federations are not born overnight and the present Council of Europe is still pretty much of a farce.

Economic federation is the objective. It is a large job. And if it is given just five years for its achievement the result must be frustration and recrimination. The only hope is to extend the cut-off date, to outline a ten-year program for the liberalization and unification of Europe's economy, accompanied by a ten-year program of American aid, which is scaled down year by year and rigidly adhered to. If this program is beyond our capacity, then the best we can do is to shut up and let Europe find its own way to economic stability.

Whichever course we choose, the payments dispute has proved that we must clarify our relationship with Britain.

We can follow one of two policies toward the non-Soviet world. We can reject any special alliances or distinctions of any kind; or we can affirm that, recognizing the rights and sensibilities of the smaller nations, our partnership in the West is first with Britain and the British Commonwealth.

Throughout the war we followed the second of these policies. Since then we have maintained a kind of unspoken alliance with Britain. Under Thomas K. Finletter, ECA administrator in London, British and American officials worked with complete frankness and understanding as a single team in economic planning. The real direction of American economic policy, however, was shifted to Paris, where the other pattern has been followed. In Paris, as in Washington and Wall Street, there is a good deal of antagonism toward the British among Americans. It springs from a sense of inferiority in negotiations (the suspicion that the British are about to put something over) and a sense of hostility toward a rival power (the feeling that the British stand in the way of American mastery of Europe and the Western world—as indeed they do).

"When you get to Paris," said a leading American official in London, "you will hear Cripps compared everywhere to Schacht." And, sure enough, the comparison popped out from behind several desks in the Talleyrand Hotel. In spite of the dignity and decency of Averell Harriman, there is an attitude of flippant hostility toward Britain among lesser ECA officials in Paris. This attitude was certainly behind the willingness of ECA to promote an open fight with Britain on the payments issue, although it should have been clear that Britain could not accept America's terms and that the United States would have to accept the British terms in the end.

This attitude seems to me to be altogether destructive. Cripps has saved England from bankruptcy since the war just as surely as the RAF saved Britain from invasion in 1940. And Britain's well-being is extremely important to America. Britain is still the center of the greatest international system in the world. When the Egyptians trade with the Italians, they trade in sterling. When we undermine sterling we undermine the basis of economic stability and political democracy over a very large part of the world. The French liberal newspaper *Combat*, in attacking the Petsche proposal, called for the defense of "the sterling bastion." Even from a dollar point of view, it is right. Beside our sterling trade, our trade with Europe is incidental. The heavy pressure of Wall Street and the Treasury to break the sterling area is terribly dangerous today.

Paradoxically, American relations with Western Europe are aided by recognition of our primary *and equal* partnership with Britain. Europeans see in Britain a socialist country with a long European tradition, a real protection and a proper bridge to America. In contrast to Britain, the landowners of France and Italy have never accepted democracy and the industrialists are Fascist in outlook and utterly lacking in social responsibility. In both countries the Right thrives on an obscure but real identification with America. It is extremely powerful; it controls the press, the civil service and the radio in these countries that were shattered by occupation or defeat. Under the ECA, the European cartels have regained tremendous power. Now when Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder arrives in Europe to declare that in future American loans will be given from private investors to private industrialists, he is substantially shifting the balance of political power toward the Right. The British understand these issues and represent the only example of successful democratic socialism. This is what Claude Bourdet has in mind when he writes in *Combat* that "the existence of an independent British economy is the last obstacle to an American colonization of Europe."

To these Europeans, a partnership, open and equal, of America and Britain is desired. And if it is the way to establish a lasting moral commitment and to avoid senseless struggles that make contestants of all the nations of Western Europe—and hurt them all—then it may be our best hope.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Taft minus Hartley*

TRUMAN PROPOSES, but Taft disposes. Truman may have "sized up" the Taft-Hartley Act last year to a "T" (aft) as a campaign issue. But it cannot be denied that Taft has also "sized up" to a "T" (ruman) the United States Senate which, on paper of the thinnest, has a "Democratic" majority. Truman, at the Democratic convention, had the overwhelming support of the delegates for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act that was so obnoxious to labor. He was able to dictate to that convention, not only his own nomination, but the platform. Now, with the aid of the redoubtable John L. Lewis, the senior Republican Senator from Ohio has dictated an amended T-H Act to the Senate.

No one can question the strength and ability of Senator Taft. No one, whatever his views on the Taft-Hartley Act, would wish to detract one iota from the credit to which Senator Taft is now entitled. Strength and ability are qualities that call for admiration regardless of all other considerations. It does not dim the Taft ascendency in the Senate that 18 Democratic Senators rallied to his support on the vote that upheld the use of injunctions in labor disputes, in which, personally, I do not believe. This more than made up for the five Republicans who voted against the Taft proposal. Not only was he indebted to the Dixiecrats who hate President Truman and to other Democrats who are antipathetical to labor, he was operating in a political climate that has been "carbon monoxided," so far as labor is concerned, by Lewis, who once more, in his backhanded but effective way, came to the support of the hard-pressed GOP. In this instance, a "work stoppage" at the wrong time proved to be a "Truman stoppage."

As a result, Senator Taft becomes the most considerable Republican figure in the country. My own feeling during the late campaign was that if the Republicans had nominated Senator Taft instead of the cooing Governor Dewey, they would have made a closer run. Taft would have returned punch for punch with President Truman, and no one can doubt that it was the stubborn pugnacity of President Truman that gave him the victory. People like a fighter, and if these two had been rival candidates, the voters could have chosen between two scrappers. In view of the slim vote by which President Truman carried several states, who can doubt that he might have lost if he had been opposed by such a two-fisted, hard-hitting and able political craftsman as Senator Taft has proved himself to be?

Dr. Gallup, may his tribe decrease, may not be predicting that the Taft-Hartley Act will be the principal political issue in 1952, but this seems to be the opinion of some political leaders and students of public affairs. If this comes to pass, the Republicans surely will not repeat their major error of 1948 when they sent in a bat boy with the bases full and only one run needed. Unless they have become chronically witless they will send to bat in 1952 their own Babe Ruth in the person of Robert A. Taft. If a Taft Act (with the Hartley tail left off) needs to be upheld before the American people, who would be better qualified to do it than the man who was largely responsible for it in the 80th Congress, who greatly strengthened it during the present session and, although a member of the minority, in so doing dominated the Senate by main strength?

Of course, Taft has an important hurdle to take next year in Ohio when he will run again for reëlection to the Senate. Whatever may be the result, he can be depended upon to put up the same kind of a slashing fight in his own state that Truman made in the nation. Taft will go into his Senatorial fight with the greatly enhanced prestige that he has won by emerging as the undoubted intellectual leader of the Senate. If such a feat has formerly been accomplished in American history by a member of the minority, I do not know of it.

Our politicians love to blather about the American "two-party system." During campaigns they are highly vocal about "party loyalty." When they are beating the bushes for votes, their love of their party and their inalienable loyalty to it glisten from every sweat pore of their bodies. In theory, the President is the leader of his party and it happens that the Democratic Party has a safe majority in both House and Senate. But, although the President may attempt to assert the leadership for which the voters have given him a mandate, only those Democrats follow his leadership who happen to feel like it. Also, in theory, the defeated candidate for President is supposed to be the leader of *his* party. It is interesting that while chest-thumping Democratic "loyalists" leave their leader marooned on a tempest-beleaguered island, the "leader" of the Republican Party, Former Candidate Dewey, whether he relishes it or not, has to endure the sight of Senator Taft, whom he defeated for the nomination, taking the leadership into his capable hands, apparently without so much as saying, "By your leave."

It would seem that party loyalty in the United States is as depreciated as the Chinese currency. Usually we have too little or too much of it. HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A BIOGRAPHY IN THE PICKWICKIAN SENSE

by David Daiches

HESKETH PEARSON has done another of his lively biographical jobs. While adding nothing new to our knowledge or understanding of Dickens, he has written what must be easily the most readable of the biographies of the novelist, peppering his pages with provocative and occasionally annoying expressions of his own views on a variety of subjects. He writes with a bold pen, never worrying about inconsistency or repetition, simplifying if necessary in order to achieve vividness, and on the whole preferring wit to profundity.

DICKENS, HIS CHARACTER, COMEDY, AND CAREER, by Hesketh Pearson (Harper; $4).

"The chief need of Dickens' nature was to be loved, and perhaps his tragedy was that he asked more than he could give. Having missed, as he thought, the love of his mother, he was always looking for it in other women, but never found the supply equal to the demand." This rousing statement is typical of Pearson's method, and his book is full of them. "No man has done [what Dickens did for London in *Oliver Twist* and other novels] for any other city," he roundly asserts, and though this is an absurd statement, we accept it in its context because it conveys the writer's genuine and very proper enthusiasm for Dickens' achievement in creating the atmosphere of London.

His basic formula for explaining Dickens' character is hardly new: "Dickens was an actor through and through," he tells us. (The same claim has recently been made for Poe.)

> His characters, his comedy, his sentiment, are of the stage; he had the quick eye for human oddity, the photographic power of reproducing it and the love of repeating it, which is possessed by a Garrick or a Kean; he pours out his emotions as only an actor can; he describes a storm as a stage manager would like to produce it; his villains are melodramatic, his heroes and heroines are stagey, his scenes are of the theatre. . . . If he were alive today he would be the king of film writers, with Hollywood at his feet.

There is much truth in this (though it is naïve to think that there is any resemblance between the histrionic demands of stage melodrama and the requirements of a Hollywood script), but it only pushes our question further back. *Why* did Dickens feel this histrionic urge? What relation had this phase of his character to his childhood experiences, his eventual separation from his wife, his relations with his sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth and the actress Ellen Ternan? Edmund Wilson, in his interesting essay on Dickens in *The Wound and the Bow*, explored these matters, but Pearson does not believe in thinking too curiously on problems of personality. He recognizes no mystery in Dickens' character. After describing the "Quilpish yell" which Dickens suddenly let out while walking in Boston soon after his arrival in the United States, Pearson quotes one who heard it as confessing forty years later: "The mystery of that shout is still a mystery to me," and then coolly adds: "But to anyone who understands the nature of Dickens there is nothing mysterious about it." In other words, if you call Dickens' nature histrionic you have solved the problem.

There is almost a Dickensian quality in the large way in which Pearson sums up and dismisses a problem. It is done with great verve, and we are hypnotized into believing that the pronouncements are both true and profound until reflection afterwards makes us wonder just how much has really been said. In discussing "the effect of Little Nell on the age," he remarks simply: "The explanation is that sentimentality is complementary to toughness and callousness, and an age that has grown fat on child slavery, Negro slavery, the pillage of India, and many similar crimes, was easily melted by the sorrows of a pure and pretty girl, doing pleasant penitence for its villainies by crying over Little Nell." There is also some truth in this, but it is far from the whole truth. Humphrey House, in his admirable book, *The Dickens World* (which Pearson shows no signs of having read), remarked, in connection with the sentimentality of Dickens' death scenes: "A religion in a state of transition from supernatural belief to humanism is very poorly equipped to face death"—which represents a level of insight of which Pearson is incapable.

But we forgive the author much for his liveliness, and for the vividness with which he shows Dickens in action. He enjoys his subject, and we cannot help sharing his enjoyment. He is at his best when he sticks to straight narrative, giving an account of Dickens' behavior and adventures; when he pauses to thrust his own rather brittle philosophy at us (as in an odd outburst at the beginning of chapter thirteen) or to make elaborate comparisons between Dickens and other novelists, we grow impatient.

The actual story of Dickens' life and work is well told, and it is arresting enough. This volatile genius with his teeming imagination, his immense egotism, his genuine humanity, his astonishing histrionic qualities; the lover and critic of Victorian England, whose writings achieved more social reforms than the activity of any legislator, whose fictional characters are better known in the English-speaking world than the creations of any other writer except Shakespeare; the former

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worker in a blacking factory who had made himself famous long before he was thirty; the great humanitarian who coolly put away his wife after she had borne him ten children; the genius who killed himself giving brilliant dramatic readings from his own works to fanatically enthusiastic audiences in Britain and America—Pearson may not have explained him fully, but, what is perhaps more important, he has captured him, and here he is, alive, in these pages. DAVID DAICHES

David Daiches, author of A Study of Literature for Readers and Critics, is professor of English and chairman of the Division of Literature at Cornell University.

THE ARTIST AND THE CITY

JAMES JOYCE, by Herbert Gorman (Rinehart; $3.50).

THIS BOOK was first published in 1939. Since James Joyce died in 1941, a few paragraphs have been added in the new printing. With this one exception, Gorman's text remains the same. If, for all of that, it seems a different book, it is because our own view of the subject has changed.

We had tended to assume that *A Portrait of the Artist* was a picture of its author. Joyce was Stephen Dedalus, "a priest of eternal imagination," an Artist flying by the City and its nets. As such, he reappeared in the pages of *Ulysses*. Under the name of Shem, Stephen met us once again in the haze of *Finnegans Wake*. If a further proof was needed, the very existence of such a book as *Finnegans Wake* seemed to reaffirm the fact of an inescapable rift between the Artist and the City.

But as we got inured to the world of *Finnegans Wake*, its emphasis began to change. It became a book about a Dublin *petit bourgeois*—his tenderness, hopes and fears, his ever present sense of guilt. Joyce had always written about Dublin's lower middle class. This time, however, Humphrey C. Earwicker, archetypical Burgher, archetypical Father, archetypical Husband, plainly bore the lineaments of Joyce himself.

Having toiled for sixteen years on the writing of this book, he could not well deny his dedication to his Art. He was merely placing that dedication in perspective. He was saying that the Artist is contained within the Man. As a Man, he is at one with that very multitude with whom the Artist is at odds.

In a similar fashion, Dedalus as a Young Artist is no more than a facet of Dedalus as a Young Man. The journey that he makes is only a modulation of a million other journeys, of a million quests.

"Mother is putting my new second-hand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life . . . what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it!"

This might be any son.

"Welcome, O life!" he continues. "I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience." Only then does he add his own characteristic note—"and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race."

We are shown how and why he decides to assume the Artist's lonely role. Yet the esthetic manifestoes that he so eloquently utters are not the triumphant climax of our young pilgrim's progress. They are the tiles of a mosaic.

We see his hopes and fears, his tenderness, his sense of guilt. We are shown his maladjustment, his frustration. "I will not serve," he says, "that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church. . . . I will fly by these nets. . . . I do not fear to leave—whatever I have to leave."

It's important that he leaves. It is important, too, that it is so hard to leave. It is clear, in fact, that part of him will always stay. In the books that he will write, he'll write about his family, his religion and his race. He'll write about Dublin streets, Dublin speech, every drop of Dublin drink that Dublin people ever drank in every one of Dublin's pubs.

If we look for such a man in this present biography, we fail to find him. Gorman wrote a book on Joyce as early as 1922. At that time, there were many of us who cherished the high ideal of being an arty expatriate who writes *avant-garde* books. Joyce seemed like such a man. In 1922, *Ulysses* seemed such a book. *Finnegans Wake*, published in 1939, seemed the undisputed king of all such *avant-garde* books.

Now we realize that Joyce is something more than that. *Ulysses* has become—*Finnegans Wake* is becoming—a book about the world, James Joyce, you and me, "the heart . . . and what it feels." They are works which Gorman's Joyce could not possibly have written.

Gorman's book, to put it kindly, is an undistinguished book. That is what it always was. Nowadays, in addition, it is just a bit irrelevant.

Nonetheless, it is a Joyce biography and a biography of Joyce is needed. It has names, places, dates. It has a number of photographs. It has some Joyce material, manuscripts, letters, notes, which at the present time are not available elsewhere.

It is not the book we seek. But for all its faults, "it is the only wheel in town!" NATHAN HALPER

UNTIL DEATH

EIGHT FAMOUS PLAYS, by August Strindberg. Introductory by Alan Harris (Scribner's; $5).

THIS YEAR marks the centennial of the birth of August Strindberg. Among the great number and variety of the works of the Swedish writer, it is a dozen or more of his dramas, and among these chiefly his domestic dramas, that are still read. The reissue of this present selection is more than a conventional tribute on a personal occasion; it is also a kind of record of his life, for in his useful introduction Alan Harris shows the close parallel between the plays and that chaotic career. The biographical element of literature is fascinating in any event, but it is of real importance in the work of a writer with a confessed "passion for self-revelation, carried to the pitch of exhibitionism."

These plays reflect particularly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strindberg's three disastrous marriages and his intense class feeling, exacerbated by the unequal social position of his parents and recurring in his own marriages with two aristocratic women. The class theme is secondary to the marriage theme, but it is treated in one of Strindberg's greatest plays, "Miss Julia," when a daughter of the aristocracy draws her father's valet into a liaison, and then, appalled by her position, destroys herself.

The sexual relationship, for Strindberg, is first of all the marriage relationship, and his "views" of this (largely the experience of his own first marriage where he saw himself "as the poor weak male in Messalina's toils") he gives in "The Father." "It is man and woman against one another, incessantly all day long," in a "marriage-duel" where the woman enjoys the advantage of her "instinctive duplicity." But it is the *relationship* itself, rather than its partners, which is prior, and the author suggests that something in this has gone wrong. "Formerly," says the husband in this play, "one married a wife; now one enters into partnership with a business woman, or goes to live with a friend. . . . And then one cheats the partner, and outrages the friend!" The inequality of the partnership is first of all the inequality of the father as parent, and expresses Strindberg's obsessive misgivings about the paternity of his own children. Woman accepts man's "function as an unfortunately necessary father and breadwinner," but in reality "a man has no children, it is only women who have children, and therefore the future is theirs, when we die childless." As wives, women are really mothers; as husbands, men are sons. "We are all in quest of her, our mother," Strindberg said of himself. "I imagine I shall always remain tied to mine."

The finality of it is what gives this situation its horror. To an age that tends to regard marriage more equably, as an experiment, the plays may lack probability, but Strindberg was not concerned with the practical availability of divorce. He expressed by this finality the utter commitment of the two personalities in the marriage relationship. As a matter of fact, even a couple in the throes of a divorce (in "The Link") say: "And now we are condemned to keep on tearing each other as long as a spark of life remains." A hopeless predicament gives rise to an implacable hatred—that is the dominant emotion in these domestic hells. In "The Dance of Death," a visitor inquires: "What is going on in this house? . . . There is a smell as of poisonous wall-paper, and one feels sick the moment one enters. . . . There are dead bodies beneath the flooring, and the place is so filled with hatred that one can hardly breathe." Hatred —all interests and all other emotions are absorbed into it; there is no room for anything else. "What am I to talk about?" asks the wife in this play. "That I have spent a lifetime in this tower, locked up, guarded by a man whom I have always hated, and whom I now hate so, beyond all bounds, that the day he died I should be laughing until the air shook."

It does not matter whether the reader or audience shares Strindberg's personal (and even pathological) view of marriage. He constructs a convincing situation to illustrate what one human being can do to another. The really remarkable thing is that it is convincingly (however necessarily) constructed by dialogue. All the complications and ambiguities of emotion

3 fine books

criticism, philosophy and sociology—all remarkable examples of their kind...

The Golden Nightingale

By DONALD A. STAUFFER. What is great art? What makes a great artist? How do his tools — image and symbol — function? Using the poetry of Yeats as illustrations, a well-known critic answers these and other permanent questions of art in five lucid, illuminating essays. ". . . a model of criticism, clear, compressed and enthusiastic."— ROBERT HILLYER, *New York Times.* $3.00

Philosophy for the Future

Edited by SELLARS, McGILL, FARBER. *Twenty-seven experts,* searching for a philosophy of our age, scale a new height in modern materialism. Included are specialists in physics, biology, mathematics, astronomy, economics, psychology, anthropology and sociology as well as philosophy. Some of the contributors are J. B. S. Haldane, V. J. McGill, Dirk J. Struik, et al. $7.50

Social Structure

By GEORGE PETER MURDOCK. This magnificent study of family, kinship organization, sex and marriage in some 250 societies is a *landmark in the social sciences.* Its many UNIQUE DISCOVERIES caused Alfred C. Kinsey to say: "I find it a very significant book." Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn says: ". . . puts the scientific study of society at a completely new level . . ." $6.00

At all bookstores THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL TO EUROPE FOR $75

Yes . . . you can actually get passage to foreign shores for prices as low as this ~Sail to So. America for as little as $35~to China for $100. We have a complete directory of hundreds of passenger-carrying freighters that go to all parts of the world. Also all information on how to book passage. You can afford to travel anywhere with this digest.

Send $1.00 for Complete Information to:

WORLD WIDE COMPANY

Dept. NR-1, MADISON 1, WISCONSIN

MOTION PICTURE

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands $1.51 per carton postpaid. West of Mississippi add 7¢ per carton. Min. order 3 cartons. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 1713-B, Baltimore, Maryland.

DRUGS

MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS filled at guaranteed lowest possible cost. Ask for prices on all your drug, hormone, and vitamin requirements. Ace Mail Order Co., B East Orange, N. J.

FOR SALE

LENOX, ½ mile from Tanglewood. Excellent 5-room house with expansion wing, bath, phone, central heat, new paint, full cellar. Specimen evergreens and hardwoods, 2 acres of lawn and garden. Centrally located yet private. $9,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

FOR RENT

PROVINCETOWN—Boathouse on the harbor, with private deck over the water. Attractively furnished, all conveniences, fireplace. Living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath. Available August and September. $200. Write Box 810, The New Republic.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone. Correspondence courses are available to Veterans under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for FREE book. State of G. I. Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

become verbal without becoming melodramatic or banal. These husbands and wives—these cats tied together by the tail, to recall another famous view of the case—talk on for years (it seems) until they reveal each to the other in complete hatefulness.

Strindberg distinguished between "the life of speech and the life of thought," and in these plays "it is the usually suppressed, but not abnormal, life of thought breaking out into speech." In most cases these monsters are really commonplace people, monstrous only in revealing their "normally suppressed" thoughts, and in relation to each other. As a character in "The Father" exclaims: "My God, why should two people torment the life out of one another; two people who are otherwise so good and wish all others well?" JOHN FARRELLY

ON THE AIR: Network for Peace: II

LAKE SUCCESS

ONCE THE RADIO STUDIOS at Fifty-seventh Street and Broadway in New York were used for the purpose of hot psychological warfare. That was in the days when the enemies were clearly labeled Hitler and Tojo and the OWI overseas radio broadcasts originated from that building. Now "The Voice of America" has taken over the transmitters. Talks, music and dramatic programs fight a cold war. But early in the morning, peace settles on the scene for an hour and a half. Between 3:15 and 4:45 a.m., the voices range from a deep British tone to Burmese and Tagalog. A man speaks in French, with phrases smacking of Saigon vernacular, and a lady recites in Siamese. The speakers are on for five minutes each, and their words alternate with music as varied in origin as are their tongues. What the voices say is the same. All summarize the news of the preceding day at Lake Success or at Flushing Meadow, or at Paris or Cairo or wherever a United Nations meeting has been held. All are part of the UN radio's Network for Peace.

Originally, when budgets were lower, the UN broadcast only in the five official languages: English, French, Chinese, Russian and Spanish. As higher budgets were authorized, Benjamin Cohen of Chile, the assistant secretary general in charge of the Department of Public Information, could let radio-division-chief Peter Aylen expand his coverage. Aylen's operations, including not only news but dramatic and documentary programs as well, are broadcast in 25 languages. The UN has no transmitters of its own and leases (at cost) part-time use of "The Voice of America" short-wave facilities on both coasts. But the product always bears the imprint of the UN, which means it is fair, balanced and prejudiced in favor of neither side to a dispute being aired before the UN.

Under Aylen, the English-language section is supervised by Gerald Kean. The section serves various areas, including Australia, New Zealand and the US. As far as American radio listeners are concerned, Kean's job is similar to that of a network vice-president in charge of programs. But there is another name on the radio organizational chart. It is Norman Corwin's.

Corwin is charged with "special projects." I won't try to distinguish here between Corwin's responsibilities and Kean's. But here is what their joint efforts mean for American listeners:

Beginning late this month, and picking up by fall, an increasing number of radio stations in this country will broadcast a weekly, 15-minute program called "UN Story." Each is a tight, dramatic piece relating the work of the UN and its various specialized agencies to the interests of the narrator. That narrator may be a school teacher or a housewife, a farmer, an actress or a businessman proud of his membership in the Rotary Club. Whatever or whoever the narrator is, he or she focuses upon the principal theme

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of world reliance upon the UN for peace, welfare and security.

"UN Story" is being prepared specifically for the independent (non-network) stations in the country. Through the coöperation of the Independent Stations Committee of the National Association of Broadcasters, this program (which will run at least 39 weeks, perhaps 52) has already been booked by outlets in 216 cities.

The "indies" will be served in another manner this fall. Corwin is to write, produce and direct for them a special 15-minute transcribed program. So far, 185 stations have signed up for this show. The announcements and trade publicity are just beginning to build interest, and it is expected that the total number of stations will number between 500 and 600.

Beginning in September, several hundred radio stations will start a 52-week series entitled "Music of the World." The programs have been put together with the coöperation of the UN Radio, the US Commission on UNESCO and Broadcast Music, Inc. (an offshoot of commercial radio).

An exciting series will be broadcast over NBC, beginning September 4. On that date, Corwin will produce for NBC a full-hour documentary he is now writing, marking the tenth anniversary of the opening of World War II. Then will come three more hour-long programs. Two of these will be written by Millard Lampell, of whom more later. One of the three will be a broadcast from the General Assembly Hall at Flushing Meadow and will include a special concert, pageant, and commentary by Corwin. For four weeks, beginning September 25, NBC's "Living: 1949" series will be given over to special UN shows, the writers including Corwin, Allen Sloane and Lister Sinclair.

Corwin figures so often in these notes because he is the most glamorous—I should say, the only really glamorous—personality known widely and recognized for devotion to serious radio. The fault is not his, but that of the broadcasters, who have never troubled to give radio writers, actors, producers or directors the buildup accorded comedians or disc jockeys or swagbag masters of ceremony. Corwin has often raised his own voice on behalf of his colleagues. Lampell should be as well known as Corwin.

During the war, while serving as a sergeant in the Army, Lampell wrote brilliant network programs. His show commemorating the end of the war, "October Morning," was an ominous, deeply moving warning against a repetition of world war in "maybe ten years . . . maybe Russia." The War Department recorded Lampell's "October Morning" in 1945 and distributed it to Army hospitals. Lampell, disgusted because postwar radio had reverted to the role of what he called "jukebox of the corporations," quit writing for the air. Now he is back, on the UN's Network for Peace.

Lampell is not the only considerable talent employed. Sloane is an American and Sinclair a Canadian; both of them have done distinguished writing for radio. So have many of the other men on the UN's writing roster: Peter Lyon, Joseph Liss, Howard Rodman, Stephen Fischer, Mavor Moore, Michael Hayward, William Gilbert, Oscar Rose, Richard Dana. Some of these are members of the UN radio staff under Kean, others are free-lance scripters. On the directing side, the UN uses Corwin, Lampell, Moore, Rose, Hayward and Helen Dunlop.

Many of these writers and directors receive top pay on commercial radio broadcasts, but they work for scale on the UN shows. There is an urgency about the way they attack their jobs, almost a fierceness to bite their teeth once more into the solid radio fare of the war days when, as Lampell remarked, "we could offer wonderfully flexible, exciting combinations of poetry and purpose, done in words and music, and done in anger and dignity." All these elements are in their UN program—only the anger being tempered. America's best radio talent—thanks to the UN—is on a war footing again. The radio industry itself has also enlisted. And the common enemy is war.

SAUL CARSON

"OF COURSE I would give it to my children without hesitation,"

says Mary Roberts Rinehart *of*

TINA & JIMMY LEARN HOW THEY WERE BORN

By Marie Lorenz

The only book in any language to bring the sex-facts of life to children directly.

Parents no longer have to go through the awkward task of telling their children the facts of life. If they're under 8, you read this book *to* them; if they're *over* 8, they can read the book themselves and find in it the answers to all the important questions.

"The most amazing book of its kind," writes Dr. Samuel T. Robbins, well-known child psychologist, joining in the chorus of newspaper praise from which the following passages are selected:

"The book for any and every child."
"Stunningly done."
"Enchantingly frank."
"Delightfully diverting."

"Takes off their hands a job no parent is really equipped for."

Recommended to mothers with pre-school children in the early grades.

•

Over 100 drawings—some in 3 colors
PUBLISHED AT $2.95

Special price to New Republic readers

ONLY $1.98

BOAR'S HEAD BOOKS
150 Broadway, Room 914, New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen: I enclose $1.98 for a copy of the $2.95 edition of *Tina and Jimmy Learn How They Were Born*. I may return for full credit if not entirely pleased.

NAME_____

NO. & STREET_____

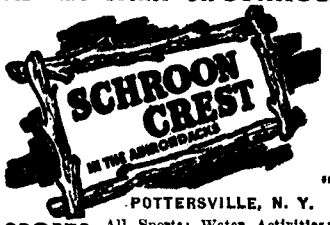
CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

☐ C.O.D. ($1 must go along as binder)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

ADULT CAMP on SCHROON LAKE



a resort that is "different"

POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.

SPORTS All Sports; Water Activities; Horses; Bicycles; Game Room. 5 Clay Tennis Courts — Tennis Pro-Tournaments

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES Bob Adler and Staff. Al Sheer Dance Orchestra. Shows • Social and Folk Dancing • "the Okun Record Collection. • DAVID RANDOLPH, In Person, ("Music for the Connoisseur") Week Starting July 28

EXCELLENT FOOD American-Jewish Cuisine; Cozy Bar.

100 Accommodations at $60
LEAH OKUN, Director
Booklet on Request. Phones Chestertown 2830-9681
City Office Phones: MAin 4-8570—1230

MERRIEWOODE

A Camp For Adults

HIGHLAND LAKE—STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation

ENJOY beautiful Highland Lake • 10 miles long

ALL Land and Water Sports • Square and Folk Dancing • 4 hours by train from N. Y.— 1½ hours by plane

$55, $60 and $65 WEEKLY

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Dept. R, Highland Lake, Stoddard, N. H.
Phone: Hancock 98 Ring 13

Berkshire Highlands

Great Barrington, Mass. On Lake Buel

ADULT CAMP • TANGLEWOOD CONCERTS

FOLK & SQUARE DANCING, RUMBA! Riding, Swimming, Boating, Tennis, Fireside Fun! American-Jewish Cuisine. Moderate Rates.

Deuel Hollow House

WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691

In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volleyball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing.

Complete Informality — Adults

RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS
City Phone: RE 7-2829

friendly acres

(Answer to your quest)

Informal hospitality • intimate atmosphere • completely modernized Dutch Colonial house on country road • in the Poconos • exceptional book and record library • exceptional food too • sports, including swimming and bicyling • for adults • $45 weekly

Write: RD 1, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Bushkill 18 R-11

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly, informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, records, ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.

Rates: $40-$45 65 miles from New York City
JANE C. ARENZ • R. D. No. 1 • Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 346-J-2

MOVIES: The Public Be Damned

AS A WORK OF ART, a story, a specimen of mass entertainment, "The Fountainhead," adapted by Ayn Rand from her best-seller of a few years ago, is a structure of such absurd posturing, such implausible action, such stilted, school-girl dialogue that it could be pitched out of a review column with no ceremony. Early in the picture, Patricia Neal, an heiress on horseback, strikes Gary Cooper, a genius in overalls, across the face with her riding crop (he had proudly refused to fix her fireplace). Thereupon, in the dead of night, Cooper steps through a pair of French windows and tames the hussy in a manner once endorsed by the admirers of Francis X. Bushman. Audiences cannot be asked to sit through that sort of thing in 1949.

But Miss Rand is not interested solely in nickelodeon romance or even in asking us to believe that a man who has confessed to dynamiting a large housing project in the middle of New York could be found not guilty by a cheering jury. She has also undertaken to preserve the American way.

The hero of "The Fountainhead" is an architect who wishes to build edifices that look as though they might be projects abandoned by the workshop of Frank Lloyd Wright. He will accept no compromise with his functional chastity and he finds the going very rough: "they" are forever telling him that he must not offend the public. "They" are timid financiers, second-rate architects, unscrupulous newspaper editors and owners. Howard Roark (Cooper) is quite right to stand up for his principles, but his bitterness leads him to an odd position for a spokesman of 100-percent Americanism. He doesn't, he says, give a hoot in hell for the people who are to occupy his creations. He recognizes no authority but his own inviolate soul; he spits upon the ideas of coöperation and self-sacrifice. He doesn't hesitate, as noted above, to blow up a building when his plans are altered. His friend and patron, the only man he admires, is a newspaper owner (Raymond Massey) who cackles with senile glee at his power over the mindless rabble.

Since Roark's utterances contain frequent reference to freedom and progress and "this great country of ours," he is apparently Miss Rand's ideal of sturdy independence. She finds him a comfort, perhaps, in an age of labor unions, nationalized industry and Soviet Russia. But she has overcompensated for her fears and produced, instead of the moral descendant of Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln, a man who talks uncommonly like a megalomaniac. Contempt for the public has never been a cherished principle of American democracy and dynamite is no argument in a free society.

I apologize for wasting so much time on Miss Rand's vulgar superman (his idea of fulfillment is to build the highest skyscraper in New York), but she has already attracted a considerable audience through him. Nothing said above is meant to imply that the public cannot be fooled; the purpose of free discussion is to make the process as difficult as possible for such people as Miss Rand. Warner Brothers produced "The Fountainhead," employing King Vidor to direct it.

Professor Andrew Gentling is in Los Angeles from the East to raise a large sum of money for a new university. But begging is thirsty work, and after a day of softening up an obdurate prospect, Gentling (William Powell) drops into a hotel bar. There on a stool is his old pal, Catherine Sykes (Shelley Winters), amorous and far gone in drink. The professor allows himself to become involved, with consequences foreshadowed in the title, "Take One False Step," a picture produced and directed by Chester Erskine from a story by Irwin and David Shaw.

The details of the next 48 hours in the professor's life are not entirely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clear, but it is established that in this period he is painfully savaged by a German shepherd dog, that he drives from Los Angeles to San Francisco (roughly 500 miles), that he delivers an hour lecture after suffering a concussion in an auto accident, that he leaves the lecture hall for a rendezvous at which he is severely beaten, that he then breaks into the studio of an unidentified sculptor, kidnaps Miss Sykes and starts back for Los Angeles. There is no evidence that he sleeps or eats in this time, but when the police and Mrs. Gentling finally catch up with him he is perfectly fresh and troubled only by the thought that he is dying of hydrophobia.

It is pleasant to see Powell matching his elegant wit against the underworld once more, but something a little more straightforward and plausible might have come closer to "The Thin Man."

Reviewers, since they work in limited space, must as a rule hold their comments to the main outline and the broad effect of a picture. It is a safe bet, for example, that in the "Take One False Step" notices no mention will be made of a boy (Tommy Ivo) who helps Powell slip through a police road-block, of a woman (Minerva Urecal) who fills his gas tank at a roadside diner, of the Rotarian doctor (Howard Freeman) who arranges his lecture and drives him frantic with prying, boastful good fellowship. Yet these are the best actors and the best moments in the film. The boy's innocent shrewdness, his casually gallant observance of a boy's code of honor, make a beautifully imagined and perfectly executed vignette. The woman, bundled in a man's sheepskin coat and dispensing strident folksiness at dawn, is a type every weary all-night driver has encountered. The doctor's revolting conceit and crushing insensitivity rasps an audience with exactly the suffering it imposes on Powell. In details like these Hollywood recalls fleetingly that it is engaged in creative work; they are the moments of insight that make a routine picture endurable.

ROBERT HATCH

RESORTS

All At Attractive Summer Rates
All Sports
Entertainment
Painting & Crafts
Send for our vacation guide today!
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS RUMBARG
WOODBOURNE N.Y Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
Hospitably, Anne Chester

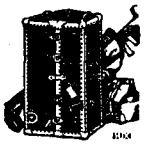
Green Acres LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y. Tennis • Golf Swimming Pool • Television • Unexcelled Music and Book Library • An adult resort 45 miles from N. Y. Tel. Highland Mills 3071.

Huge shade trees, sprawling lawns for a cool summer vacation at
VINEYARD LODGE
Modern comforts in quaint Dutch Colonial setting. Woodland trails, bicycling, free boating, golf nearby. Library, records. Handball, shuffleboard courts. American-Jewish cuisine. Adults only. Reasonable rates. Phone Kingston 3430. Ulster Park, N. Y.

SACKS FARM Saugerties, N. Y. Tel. 590-J.
75 Picturesque acres. Superior accommodations. Finest food. All sports including tennis, swimming, horses, bicycles. Supervised activities for small number children. Booklet. $45-50 weekly.

SMOKESHIRE WAY
AN UNUSUAL VACATION, high in Vermont's Green Mountains; inspiring to lovers of beautiful country. Swimming on premises; other sports, fine book and record library, folk dancing, our own vegetables. Intimate group. $45-$48 per week. Folder. Write Masloff, RFD No. 1, CHESTER DEPOT, Vt.

TANGLEWOOD
CHARMING secluded resort 2 miles from Woodstock Art Colony. tennis, swimming, arts and crafts, square and folk dancing Other sports. American-Jewish cuisine. Telephone Woodstock 442.



Changing Your Address?

✓ Make sure you receive your copies of the *New Republic* without interruption. Three weeks' notice is requested. To help us locate your stencil quickly, please send us your old address as well as the new.

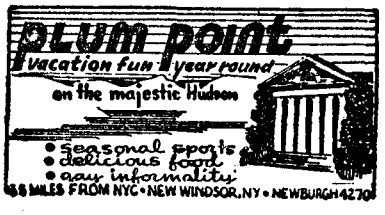
New Republic
40 East 49 St. New York 17, N. Y.

RESORTS

MAUD'S SUMMER-RAY
North Branch 5 Sullivan County, N. Y.
Telephone: Callicoon 95 or 148
Newly Built Swimming Pool With Overhead Solarium
ENTERTAINMENT, BAR, DRAMA
TWO TENNIS COURTS. ALL SPORTS
MURRAY CONWAY AND HIS BAND
Reasonable Rates
City Phone: SPring 7-8574

FIELDSTONE
For brawny-brainy adults
Informal camaraderie
Extra acres, 30 new rooms
Lakes—two of them
Dandy boating
Superb swimming
Tennis, bicycling
Orchestra on weekends
New cocktail bar
Etc. books, music, golf nearby
Fieldstone Monroe, N. Y. Phone 7965

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. Ideal for Spring and Summer vacations and weekends. Mile-long lake. All seasonal sports. Varied indoor diversions. Television and recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates in keeping with the times.


PLUM POINT
vacation fun year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

• SUMMER VACATION AT •
ARROWHEAD
Orchestra, Leo Miller
Square Dance Caller, Johnny Krushnick
Betty Sanders, Singer
Helen Malles, Tennis Pro
Arts & Crafts, Sylvia Halpern
All Sports
ARROWHEAD • Ellenville, N. Y.
Phone: Ellenville 502 City Phone: DA 8-8211

Stonegate ON LONG LAKE LODGE N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • Tennis • Fishing • Golf
Arts & Crafts • Motorboating • Dance Band
Folk-Square Dances • Concerts • Pollen-Free
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57 St. • Circle 6-6386
OPEN THROUGH SEPTEMBER
Louis A. Roth, Director

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO LIBERALS

the next 52 weeks may be critical . . .

jammed with events that will shake our social and economic foundations to the roots.

❋ Are we heading for depression? How will the Truman Administration try to stop it?

❋ No relief from the Taft-Hartley Act? What will labor do next?

❋ What's ahead in the cold war? Will the Soviet Union and the Western Powers get together on Germany?

❋ Will taxes go up? Will Congress enact national health insurance laws, the civil-rights program, price controls? Spend more or less for defense, education, public power?

For enlightening discussion of these and scores of other pressing questions which deeply concern all Americans, turn to the *New Republic*. Read its fact-finding, fact-giving weekly reports on what's happening and why. Read every issue from *cover to cover.*

"I very definitely feel the need of the New Republic to help me see things as they really are," writes a clergyman subscriber from Louisiana.

for the **LIBERAL** *point of view*

NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Enter my subscription for one year for $6. ☐ I enclose payment OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

7/18/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED